

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00  
NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03  
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05 CU-04 BIB-01 COME-00  
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O R 100712Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5757  
INFO CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV  
USIA WASHDC  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 2006

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE OCON  
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE - WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, MARCH 4 - 9

SUMMARY: BELGRADE CSCE REVIEW CONFERENCE ENDED MARCH 9 WITH  
ADOPTION OF BRIEF, ESSENTIALLY FACTUAL CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND  
DELIVERY OF GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC CLOSING ASSESSMENT STATEMENTS  
BY 35 PARTICIPATING STATES. END SUMMARY.

1. THE MAIN COMPROMISES WERE PIECED TOGETHER MARCH 4. THEN  
THE CONFERENCE WAITED FOUR DAYS FOR MALTESE TO PLAY OUT  
THEIR TRADITIONAL END-GAME EXTORTION, BUT BELGRADE MEETING FINALLY  
CLOSED MARCH 9. FULL DAY INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS MARCH 4 PRODUCED  
SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS POSED BY ALL DELEGATIONS EXCEPT THE  
IRREPRESSIBLE MALTESE. ROMANIANS AND YUGOSLAVS ACCEPTED THAT AN  
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EXPERTS GROUP IN MILITARY AREA SIMPLY WAS NOT IN CARDS. FORMER  
RECEIVED SOME ADDITIONAL LANGUAGE IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT  
ABOUT POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF CSCE AS WELL AS ACCEPTANCE OF A  
NUMBER OF LESSER STYLISTIC POINTS. AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG OBTAINED  
SOVIET AGREEMENT TO PARAGRAPH THAT YUGOSLAVS DESIRED ON DETENTE  
AND FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION ALTHOUGH SOVIETS HAD PREVIOUSLY  
RESISTED ITS LESS THAN WHOLELY POSITIVE STATEMENT THAT DETENTE

HAD ENCOUNTERED "OBSTACLES" AND "DIFFICULTIES" SINCE HELSINKI. AUSTRIANS RECEIVED LATE SOVIET CONCESSION THAT MADE CLEARER THAT EXPRESSION OF DIFFERING VIEWS ABOUT STATE OF IMPLEMENTATION OF FINAL ACT HAD BEEN PART OF USEFUL CONTRIBUTION WHICH LENGTHY BELGRADE DEBATE WAS DESCRIBED AS HAVING MADE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF CSCE'S GOALS.

2. VETERAN CSCE HANDS HAD LONG PREDICTED, HOWEVER, THAT WHEN ALL THE MAJOR PROBLEMS SEEMED SETTLED AND DELEGATIONS WERE EAGER TO CLOSE THE MEETING, MALTESE PRIME MINISTER DOM MINTOFF WOULD BEGIN TO PLAY POKER IN EARNEST. MALTESE REP SIGNALLED START OF GAME EVENING OF MARCH 4. FOR NEXT FOUR DAYS, MALTESE BARGAINED TO ACHIEVE MORE ON MEDITERRANEAN, SPECIFICALLY TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT TO HOLDING OF A HIGH-LEVEL (LATER CHANGED TO EXPERTS BUT AT "HIGH POLICY MAKING LEVEL") MEETING IN VALLETTA IN FEBRUARY 1979 THAT WOULD CONSIDER REGIONAL POLITICAL/SECURITY ISSUES. MINTOFF ALSO SOUGHT TO ACHIEVE ACCEPTANCE OF AN EXPANDED CSCE ROLE, AT LEAST AT EXPERTS MEETING, FOR NON-PARTICIPATING ARAB-ISRAEL STATES OF MEDITERRANEAN'S SOUTHERN LITTORAL.

3. MALTESE HAD ACHIEVED MORE THAN MOST IF NOT ALL OF 34 OTHER STATES HAD BEEN WILLING TO GIVE THEM AT THE END OF HELSINKI PREPARATORY TALKS (1973) AND OF THE GENEVA PHASE OF THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS (JULY 1975) BY UTILIZING CONFERENCE RULE THAT REQUIRES ALL DECISIONS TO BE TAKEN BY CONSENSUS. UNLIKE HELSINKI AND GENEVA, HOWEVER, WHERE MALTESE WERE BLOCKING A DEAL THAT

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MANY STATES FELT HAD A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF SUBSTANCE IN IT FOR THEM, MALTESE THIS TIME WERE VIEWED BY MOST DELEGATIONS AS BOTH UNREALISTIC AND GREEDY. THEY HAD ALREADY BEEN OFFERED AN EXPERTS MEETING ON ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF MEDITERRANEAN COOPERATION THAT WAS ABOUT ONLY SUBSTANTIVE ITEM IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. ALLIES WERE DETERMINED NOT TO GIVE IN BOTH BECAUSE OF REAL CONCERN FOR POLITICAL MISCHIEF A MALTESE-DIRECTED MEDITERRANEAN POLITICAL MEETING MIGHT PRODUCE IN MEDITERRANEAN AND IN ORDER TO AVOID PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE MEETINGS.

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4. SEVERAL FAIRLY RADICAL IDEAS WERE UNDER DISCUSSION -- INCLUDING POSSIBILITY THAT DELEGATION HEADS MIGHT IN EFFECT GIVE THEIR CLOSING STATEMENTS, ANNOUNCE THAT THEIR GOVERNMENTS WOULD ACT AS IF THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT HAD BEEN ADOPTED, AND THEN LEAVE LOW RANKING DELEGATION OR EMBASSY OFFICIALS BEHIND TO ATTEND FORMAL SESSIONS UNTIL MALTESE FINALLY GAVE IN. IN END THAT PROVED UNNECESSARY. MINTOFF SIGNALLED EVENING OF MARCH 7 THAT HE WOULD YIELD HIS DEMANDS IN RETURN FOR FACE-SAVING LANGUAGE TO EFFECT THAT SECURITY QUESTIONS COULD BE DISCUSSED AT MADRID MEETING IN 1980.

5. DOCUMENT FORMALLY ADOPTED MARCH 8 DOES CONTAIN RECONFIRMATION OF COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENT ALL PROVISIONS OF FINAL ACT, UNILATERALLY, BILATERALLY AND MULTILATERALLY. IT ALSO TAKES NOTE OF DIVERGENT VIEWS EXPRESSED DURING MEETING AND SAYS REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION HAS BEEN HEALTHY EXPERIENCE FOR CSCE. WE SEE THIS AS TACIT CONFIRMATION THAT CANDID REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AS CONDUCTED THROUGHOUT AUTUMN BY USDEL HAS BEEN ACCEPTED AS AN APPROPRIATE PROCEDURE FOR FUTURE MEETINGS. THERE IS NO DENYING, CONFIDENTIAL

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HOWEVER, THAT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT IS ONLY SLIGHTLY ABOVE MINIMUM TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS ESTABLISHED BY FINAL ACT: IT SETS DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT MEETING (MADRID, PREPARATORY MEETING BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 9, 1980 AND MAIN MEETING BEGINNING NOVEMBER 11, 1980); IT SETS UP EXPERTS GROUPS ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES (MONTREUX, OCTOBER 31, 1979) AND SCIENTIFIC FORUM (BONN, JUNE 20, 1978) WHICH WERE ENVISAGED IN FINAL ACT; AND, OF COURSE, THE MEDITERRANEAN EXPERTS GROUP FOR ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION (VALLETTA, FEBRUARY 13, 1979).

6. MOST SPEAKERS DURING FINAL TWO DAYS OF OPEN PLENARY WERE

FRANK IN EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT THAT MORE CONCRETE COMMITMENTS WERE NOT POSSIBLE. WESTERN SPEAKERS, HOWEVER, GENERALLY FOLLOWED AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG'S LEAD IN EXPRESSING SATISFACTION THAT MAIN OBJECTIVE -- HONEST REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION RECORD SINCE HELSINKI -- HAD BEEN ACHIEVED. THEY LAID BLAME FOR NOT GETTING A MORE SUBSTANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT ON SOVIETS WHO HAD REFUSED CONSENSUS TO LARGE NUMBER OF PROPOSALS DESIRED BY MANY DELEGATIONS, AND THEY EMPHASIZED THAT BELGRADE HAD CLEARLY ESTABLISHED IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE ON EAST-WEST AGENDA. EASTERN SPEAKERS PICKED UP THEMES THEY EMPLOYED THROUGHOUT MEETING, INCLUDING PREEMINENT NEED TO CONCENTRATE MORE ON MILITARY SECURITY ISSUES AND ALESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IF DETENTE IS TO ADVANCE. THE SOVIET SPEECH WAS TOUGH BUT TEMPERATE, WITH WHAT APPEARED TO BE A VEILED WARNING TO WEST NOT TO REPEAT HUMAN RIGHTS CRITICISMS AT MADRID IF IT WISHED TO MAINTAIN CSCE AS AN EFFECTIVE FORUM.

7. DELEGATION WILL NOT ATTEMPT HERE TO MAKE DEFINITIVE JUDGMENTS ABOUT CONFERENCE. IT HAS NOT BEEN AN EASY PASSAGE SINCE BELGRADE BEGAN WITH PREPARATORY MEETING JUNE 15. ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION, SOVIETS THREATENED THAT CONFERENCE MIGHT BREAK UP IF WEST PURSUED ITS CANDID REVIEW, AND THE LACK OF A REAL NEGOTIATION UNTIL  
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THE FINAL DAYS WAS A FAR CRY FROM THE HOPEFUL TIME WHEN THE FINAL ACT WAS BEING READIED FOR SIGNATURE AT HELSINKI. IN END, HOWEVER, THE PROCESS SURVIVED THE CHALLENGES -- INCLUDING THE FINAL ONE WHEN MALTA THREATENED TO MAKE IT LOOK RIDICULOUS TO THE PRESS AND PUBLIC -- AND CSCE AND THE FINAL ACT REMAIN A MAJOR FACT OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL LIFE AT MADRID AND THEREAFTER.

8. THIS IS FINAL WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS CABLE. WE HOPE THAT RECIPIENTS HAVE FOUND THEM USEFUL.  
GOLDBERG

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## Message Attributes

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